505 439 trade is carried on the Danube to European markets, Germany in particular, and, with the exception of an exceedingly limited traffic with Turkey, and a few intermittent shipments of oil to enemy ports in the Aegean Sea, Rumania's foreign sea-borne trade has been brought virtually to a standstill.

In addition to traffic in the Black Sea with U.S.S.R., Bulgarian and Turkish ports, Rumania in pre-war days had important commercial relations with most European and other countries overseas, the trade routes being via the Dardanelles, Mediterranean, Suez Canal and the Straits of Gibraltar.

2. Mercantile Marine

505 [652] All merchant-shipping activities are controlled by the Ministry of Air and Marine. Rumania's ocean-going mercantile marine in 1939 was constituted as follows :—

		G.R.T.
6	cargo and passenger motor vessels	27,061
16	cargo steamers	67,103
3	steam tankers	14,737
25	Total	108,901

[653] Of the 19 cargo steamers and tankers, 11 were oil-fired and 8 coal burners. Fourteen of these vessels were owned by the Rumanian State Maritime Service (*Serviciul Maritim Român*), the principal shipping company in Rumania, whilst the three tankers belonged to the Steaua Romana Petroleum Company of Bucarest. The remainder were privately owned.

[648] Consequent upon her entry into the war Rumania's mercantile marine came under Axis control and most of her vessels are trading for German and Italian account, partly in the Adriatic and Aegean, and partly in the Black Sea.

A statement of Rumania's estimated non-tanker merchant-shipping resources on the 30th April, 1943, follows :—

ESTIMATED RUMANIAN MERCANTILE MARINE RESOURCES (NON-TANKER) UNDER AXIS CONTROL IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND BLACK SEA AT 30TH APRIL, 1943.

Tonnage Category	*No. of Vessels*	*Total G.R.T.*
100/499	3	578
500/999	—	—
1,000	2	2,798
2,000	2	4,986
3,000	3	10,170
4,000	—	—
5,000	2	11,305
6,000	3	20,220
Aggregate ..	15	50,147

[726] As to her tanker tonnage, two vessels aggregating 11,705 G.R.T. were seized and are now in Allied service, whilst the third, of 3,032 G.R.T., was sunk in December, 1941, in the Aegean Sea.

3. Ports

504 The chief ports for sea-going vessels are Constanța on the Black Sea and Brăila and Galați on the Danube, which both handle river shipping as well.

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their own initiative and directly to the Romanian and Hungarian officers themselves, not to foreign powers. In Czechoslovakia and Poland the Soviets were bound by wartime commitments to the United States and Britain to treat with the governments-in-exile and with their forces as genuine and legitimate parts of the new postwar regimes. When the Soviets repudiated these promises and eliminated the old non-Communist leadership from all significant power positions, the Western world was horrified and bitter. There was less Western support for the old leadership in Romania and Hungary. Few objected, for example, when Army General Nicolae Macici, who was held responsible for the cruelty of the administration of Odessa by Romanian occupation, was tried as a war criminal and sentenced to death, a sentence which was then commuted to twenty-five years of hard labor. This was a relatively noncontroversial act, even though he was among the most capable of the Romanian officers and, when Romania switched sides, brilliantly commanded the Romanian forces against the Germans. Many of the Romanian and Hungarian officers, like Macici, were viewed in the West as war criminals or at least as doubtful characters.

Nevertheless the Soviets did use many former officers. In Romania and Hungary, just as in Czechoslovakia, a considerable segment of the old army leadership was retained for a while.

In Romania, the prewar officers are still retained as generals in fairly considerable numbers. In Hungary, as we shall see, they were retained for a while, but few remain. In this respect the current situation in Romania is like that in Czechoslovakia, and the current situation in Hungary like that in Poland. There are a number of reasons for the difference. We have already referred to such factors as traditional national attitudes toward Russia, World War II records, willingness to collaborate, etc. But here we wish to note another factor: social composition. We have already noted the strong aristocratic element in the Polish officer corps. Below we shall note some different but relevant facts about the gentry in the Hungarian Army. In Czechoslovakia and Romania the available army leaderships were less tied to social strata due for Soviet liquidation. In Romania after World War I a deliberate effort was made to make officer careers available to peasants' sons. Stipends were offered making military education financially feasible for persons of modest means. The resulting officer corps lacked some of the group morale of the Polish, for example. For this and other reasons it was also a corps with a rather low reputation for integrity. It was widely asserted that many Romanian officers could be bought. Both the social and the moral characteristics of the Romanian officers helped the Russians find among them men acceptable for their purposes, and so they continue to use them.

B. The Evolution of the Present Romanian Army

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From 1941 on the Romanian Army made substantial contributions

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to the German military campaigns against the southern regions of the Soviet Union. Numbering approximately thirty divisions, the Romanians first achieved the reconquest of territory which Russia had recently severed from Romania. The Romanian forces were then moved across the Dniester to support the Germans in the successful campaign against Odessa. The Romanian Army was in large measure responsible for the successful siege of Sebastopol and the capture of the Crimea. In the autumn and winter of 1942 an estimated Romanian force of fifteen divisions fought alongside the German troops in the offensive against Stalingrad. Like the Germans, the Romanians suffered extremely heavy losses at Stalingrad, and their military strength on the Eastern Front was never again brought up to the level existing prior to that campaign.

By August 1944 Romania had lost 110,000 men killed and 180,000 captured, though she still had twenty divisions active on the front and nine divisions stationed in the interior of Romania. By that time it had become clear that Germany was not going to win the war and that Romania had chosen the wrong side. The pro-Nazi government of Marshal Ion Antonescu was overthrown on August 23, 1944, by a coup d'état engineered by King Michael. Romania immediately changed sides in the war. The former enemy, Russia, became a military ally and the Axis associates of three years past became enemies. The Romanians faced the immediate task of clearing the country of the more than half million German troops remaining there. This was accomplished relatively quickly. The Red Army was in Bucharest by the last day of August. Then in co-operation with Soviet forces the Romanians participated in the campaigns against the German and Hungarian Armies in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Along with the regular Romanian troops used in these actions there were two divisions of Romanians which had been organized by the Soviets primarily out of prisoners of war and which for some time had already been fighting on the Soviet side. The members of these divisions gave their oath of allegiance to the "new order" not to the Romanian king.[26]

These two divisions were culled from among a much larger number of Romanian PW's. Besides the 180,000 PW's in August 1944, another 280,000 Romanians were seized and sent to Russia thereafter even though Romania was presumably Russia's ally. Of these hundreds of thousands the large majority never returned. A substantial portion of those who did return were the members of the divisions formed in the PW camps. These units were named the Tudor Vladimirescu and Horia-Closca-Crisan Divisions. The former was under the command of Nicolae Cambrea, a lieutenant colonel who had been captured at Stalingrad and who had been won over by the efforts of Ana Pauker and other Romanian Communists who worked in the prison camps. After the fighting on the Central Euro-